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**Growth of Russian Power contingent
on the Decay of British Constitution**

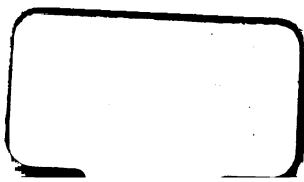
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THE

G**ROWTH OF RUSSIAN POWER**

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CONTINGENT ON

THE DECAY

OF

THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.



REPRINTED

FOR THE USE OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIR COMMITTEES,

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*These articles are now reprinted in consequence of a visit to several of
the Committees.*

THE GROWTH OF RUSSIAN POWER

CONTINGENT ON THE DECAY OF THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

CHAPTER I.

A HUNDRED and seventy years ago the condition of England was this. She had suffered and was suffering from internal disputes, but she was not, as a nation, engaged in any complications abroad; she was not in any way dependent on other countries for her supplies; and, so far from interfering with foreign states, even Queen Elizabeth and her successor—the sovereigns most interested in using the Reformation as a political engine against the house of Valois and the courts of Spain and Austria—had distinctly refused to violate the law of nations by giving any assistance to the Elector of Cologne or the Palatine of Bohemia; and Cromwell himself was, against his will, compelled to forego his designs of carrying the arms of England abroad, and making himself the military arbiter of Europe.

Great Britain was ruled by sovereigns who governed by the advice of their council. These councillors, having no factious purposes to serve, and no end to gain with foreign courts, could not have sanctioned such interference, unless when any breaches of the feudal law with reference to the English king's possessions in France made such a procedure necessary, in conformity with the laws which held together the entire realm.

Russia existed at that time but as the barbarous dukedom of Muscovy. It is true that Vlodimir's baptism, under the name of Basil, in 987, and his marriage with the Byzantine Princess Anne Porphyrogenita, had connected him with the Eastern empire, and that Ivan Basilovitz had, in the middle of the fifteenth century, in espousing the Princess Sophia, the legitimate heiress of the Palæologi, asserted his right to the Imperial sceptre, globe, and two-headed eagle; yet these were events of as little significance in the eyes of Europe as the right to rule

over the continent of America, which an Indian sachem might suppose himself to acquire by marriage, would now be in the eyes of a president of the United States. Nothing would have then seemed more impossible than for England and Russia ever to come into collision.

Within sixty years—within the memory of a man—the whole theory and practice of the constitution of England were changed; the Britain of 1740 bears no more resemblance to the Britain of 1680 than did the Rome of Honorius to the Rome of Scipio. The change in the physical condition of Russia was no less amazing.

England came forth from her seas at the same moment that Russia came forth from her snows; serfage had been established in Russia by a ukase in 1601, the very year that had established pauperism in England; and the Czar finally crushed the resistance of his Boyars at the same time that the two or three families who monopolised the governing functions in England succeeded in abrogating the functions of the Privy Council, and establishing themselves above the Sovereign and above the law.

The Czar invited Germans to his court, and married his niece to the Duke of Mecklenburgh nearly at the moment that a Prince of the House of Hanover was invited to England, and when England was thus further involved, directly and immediately, in those affairs of continental powers to which William of Orange's Dutch interests and animosities had led the way. At the same time the increasing importance of England's colonies and plantations induced an immense development of her maritime force, and the new modes of taxation, supply, and funded debt, brought about a change in her commercial system, at the exact period when the Czar's invitation to foreigners, establishment of despotism at home, and seizure of outlets abroad necessitated a constant continuous extension of the limits of his empire, as the only condition by which could be maintained the artificial changes he had brought about.

The Czar had no option. With the martial Poles and Swedes on his western, and the fiery and untameable Tartar hordes on his eastern frontier—with China with its three hundred millions of people governed by fixed and eternal laws, circumscribing his deserts on one side, and on the other, Turkey, the maintainer of the good faith of treaties—extension of dominion became for Peter the Great the condition of existence.

The formulas laid down in Peter the Great's will were but the expressions of this necessity, and the key is this—"to exist we must extend ourselves; we cannot extend ourselves by arms, we must do so by art." Hence the foundation of that wonderful conclave, the Russian Cabinet, recruited, in modern times, from

those solitary, unquiet, and intelligent spirits which heretofore were wont to range themselves under the banners of Loyola.

A similar necessity of extension had been entailed on England, but in a different form. She had passed into a new phase when the revocation of the Edict of Nantes sent into her, as to a place of refuge, the more intelligent of the manufacturers of France, engrafting them on the more ancient Flemish colonies. By degrees England, from being entirely an agricultural country, spinning little more yarn and little more wool than she herself required, passed into the condition of a people pledging themselves to manufacture supplies for the whole earth—growing rich at the outset, growing greedy as they proceeded, and, finally, involving themselves in the necessity of exploring the world to find new markets.

Commercial extension was equally a necessity for Russia. To create a navy (which as yet she has not succeeded in doing); to maintain four or five different armies in distant corners of her enormous territory; to repress the chronic disaffection of each new-acquired province; to surround her servants with the pageantry of wealth; in a word, to buy men, money must be had, and for this she had no means but the sale of her raw produce, nor had she any customer but England, to whom, up to the present hour, she has constantly looked for gold, and from whom she has refused to take anything but gold in exchange for her own commodities.

The will of Peter contained the following clauses:—

"7. We must principally seek the alliance of England for commerce, because it is the power most in want of us for its navy, and which can be the most useful in the development of ours. We must exchange wood and other productions for her gold, and keep up continual relations among her traders and seamen and ours."

"8. We must incessantly extend ourselves towards the north, the Baltic Sea, and towards the south, the Mediterranean."

"9. We must advance as much as possible towards Constantinople and India. Whoever shall reign there will be the true master of the world. Therefore, we must fan continual wars, sometimes with Turkey, sometimes with Persia; create dockyards and emporiums on the Black Sea; take possession, little by little of that sea, as well as of the Baltic, which is a point doubly necessary for the success of the plan; we must hasten the downfall of Persia; advance into the Persian Gulf; re-establish as far as can be done the ancient commerce of the East through Syria, and enter into the two Indies, which are the store of the world. When once there, we can do without the gold of England."

But it is an equal necessity that as Russia's commercial field

advances, that of England should be narrowed. Our present increasing dependence on the sale of our manufactures demands new markets; the condition of Russia's existence depends on the continuance of her monopolies; it is, therefore, as compulsory on her to exclude us from trading with any nation in the world who would exchange the raw produce in which she deals for our manufactures, as it is for us to seek for new customers in every quarter of the globe.

Two points are to be considered in connection with this—the independence of the United States, and the formation of our Indian empire. In the first instance England acquired a rival, and Russia a neighbour, who, as bearing certain points of resemblance to herself in extent of territory and desire of acquisition, and certain points of resemblance to England, in manners, language, and race, she could find peculiar facilities of using, and especially against England.

By her successive conquests in Hindostan, England placed herself in the line of an especial rival to Russia, both by the method in which she made her conquests, and by the long-coveted possession of the conquest itself, and also by a certain exposure to danger; it is, therefore, more directly in the East that Russia and England have reached the point of convergence.

But there is this difference between her and us: she has neither our material power nor our material wealth, and is, furthermore, menaced hourly and incessantly by a danger which, though our Indian empire is in some measure exposed to it, yet in her case imperils her very existence at home.

This is the insurrection of her subjected populations, or the advent of an Asiatic conqueror like Nadir Shah, who in 1738 recovered for Persia the whole of her ancient possessions, swept Russia from the shores of the Caspian and from off the sea of Azoff, and might, had he so willed, have put in motion towards Moscow all the warlike tribes from Cabul to the Kuban.

How sensible she herself is of this danger will best be shown by an extract from the work of General Valentini, a memoir on the military occupation of Constantinople, written for the Russian Cabinet in 1822, at the moment when she was endeavouring to excite the European governments to favour her plan of putting down the Greek rebellion which she had excited in Turkey:—

“If the Mussulmans, driven back to the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, and into the peninsula of Arabia, were to become again what they formerly were, shepherds and hunters; if they were to unite with the Persians, and come to an understanding with them on the dogmas which divide

them; if they were to educate their sultan in the tent, and not in the seraglio, then Europe (*i. e.*, Russia) would have to guard against a new invasion on their part."

The change in the relative position of the two countries dates from the visit of Peter the Great to England, and the almost simultaneous deprivation of the British sovereign of his standing and responsible councillors.

The only seaport Peter possessed at his accession was Archangel, situated in the frozen regions of the White Sea. He saw that an outlet by the Baltic was an indispensable necessity for Russian advance, as well for securing a foreign commerce, as for connecting Russia with Europe, and acting through that connection with the countries of the East.

Consequently, the Czar, in 1697, arrived in London, having visited Riga, Königsberg, Dantzic, Hamburg, and Amsterdam; and having prepared the means for using the various powers of Europe against Sweden, Turkey, and Poland, he found in England a "minister to his mind."

The Earl of Danby had been impeached by the Commons for "traitorously encroaching to himself regal power, by treating in matters of peace and war with foreign ambassadors and princes, and giving instructions to his Majesty's ambassadors abroad, without communicating the same to the Secretaries of State, and the REST OF HIS MAJESTY'S COUNCIL."

The minister stood his ground when the king, his master was expelled. He was raised in the peerage, and we next find that "*while the Czar was in England he entered into a treaty with some considerable English merchants to give them a free monopoly of tobacco into his dominions, on the condition of paying five shillings per hogshead to the Marquis of Carmarthen.*"

Having thus secured an English minister, and having excited the fears of the English court by representing the Swedish monarch as engaged in conspiring with the British Jacobites for the restoration of the Stuarts; and having been victorious at Pultawa, Peter finally obtained the treaty of 1721, by which Russia gained the Swedish provinces of Esthonia, Ingria, and Livonia, including the towns of St. Petersburg, Revel, and Cronstadt.

On the capture and execution of the Czar's envoy, Baron Gortz, by Swedish officers, after the death of Charles XII., at Frederickshall, his papers were seized and published. The plan he had brought from Peter to propose to the Swedish king contained this, amongst other conditions, for a plan of partition of Poland and the North of Europe:—

"As to what relates to England, the two parties take their

measures to disable the Court from engaging the nation in any proceedings contrary to these schemes."

The method of Russia has from that day forward been invariable as regards England.

The two first sovereigns of the house of Brunswick, knowing little and caring nothing about England, and deprived of any disinterested councillors who could enlighten them, became but as puppets in the hands of successive ministers, whose policy was to strengthen themselves by the power which they derived by their sole possession of state secrets, and by keeping their compeers, like the rest of the nation, entirely in the dark.

The struggles made by George III. to emancipate himself were unavailing, and during the latter and gloomier years of his life, the internal history of England is but a record of the struggle between the leaders of two factions, the one of which strengthened itself by the possession of the reigning sovereign, the other by its supposed ascendancy over the future regent.

During this time, Russia had Europe as a field open for her onward march, and we find her, from 1721 to 1829, continually making new acquisitions.

In 1772 the first partition of Poland took place, without a protest on the part of the English ministry.

In 1774 Russia gained, by the treaty of Kainardji, the sea of Azoff and part of Turkey.

In 1780, by a secret compact, she got virtual possession of Oldenburg.

In 1783 she gained the Crimea; and in 1792, by the treaty of Jassy, part of Turkey, including Odessa.

In 1793 was the second partition of Poland.

In 1795 she gained Courland, and a coast line on the Baltic.

In 1795 the third partition of Poland.

In 1800 Russia seized Georgia; in 1802, Mingrelia.

In 1804-5-6, she dismembered Persia.

In 1809 she seized Finland, and in 1812, Bessarabia.

In 1814 she acquired possession of the Caspian, and in 1828 she seized Erivan.

The year 1705 may be taken as the epoch of open and avowed commencement of those organic changes in the British Constitution which have reached their climax now.

In that year a parliamentary majority, obtained by corrupt means, assumed the power of binding the whole of the realm to measures without previously obtaining its sanction; of imposing taxes, and, therefore, of disposing of the property of every individual in the nation, contrary to the maxim of English law,

which provides that no man shall be taxed without his own consent; in a word, the Parliament put itself above the common law.

The same Parliament, arrogating to itself a power which it did not and could not possess, repealed the statutory declaration of the 11th and 12th Gul. III., which had provided that "All matters and things relating to the well governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognizable by the Privy Council by the laws and customs of this realm, shall be transacted there; and all resolutions taken thereon shall be signed by each of the Privy Council as shall advise and consent to the same."

This removal of the standing council imposed upon the Sovereign the necessity of accepting as his sole adviser any future chief of a triumphant faction.

The Parliament thus usurped to itself the royal prerogative; but being, from its multifarious constitution, incompetent to use it, was under the necessity of handing it over to any executive minister whom it chose to impose upon the Crown, and whom, by a similar necessity, it released thenceforward from any responsibility to itself; for it is clear that a minister adroit enough to get himself brought into power by a parliamentary majority, would be able to procure their after support, at least, to give him indemnity for whatever use he might make of it. Hence the ancient practice of impeachment, though not abolished in words, was so far deprived of its value, that subsequent attempts to put it in operation have had the result of disgusting the nation by the cumbersome length of the proceedings, and by the apparent inefficiency of their results.

England became the workshop of the world; but, with the exception of iron, she drew the raw materials from other countries. Cotton, silk, hemp, hides, &c., come to her from distant regions, as do the dye, stuffs, tanning, oil, and tallow, used in their preparation, the sugar which she refines, the timber for her navy, and the principal objects of consumption for her people.

Carrying out farther, and to their fullest extent, the principles she then adopted, England has become dependent on foreign lands for her supplies of grain; so that though the United Kingdom possesses at the least computation seventy millions of acres of land in cultivation, or capable of cultivation, being at the rate of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres for every man, woman, and child in the kingdom, she has found it necessary to import from other countries a proportion of her food, ranging from five to ten millions of quarters of grain.

But her exported manufactures are no longer sufficient; for official returns show a gross excess in her imports over her

exports of a sum amounting to no less than thirty-six millions sterling; while, in spite of an organised emigration, devised and fostered by the central government, the result has been to drain the ablest and most effective labourers to other countries, and still to leave in England nearly one million of paupers to be supported by the rest of the population.

The commercial extension of Russia has been of a different character. Since she obtained access to the Baltic and the Black Sea she has given her attention to the cultivation of wheat. By various means she has extinguished, with the exception of the United States, all competitors who could supply grain to the English market; she has similarly destroyed all competition in hemp, hides, staves, &c., and with her tallows she has supplanted the oil of Naples, Turkey, and nearly that of Africa. She has thus succeeded in drawing large and exhausting supplies of gold from England—continuing to do so while it was supposed England was carrying on war against her; and she has acquired and is acquiring immense tracts of new territory, to which she extends her tariff prohibitive of English manufactures. Thus Russia is draining England of her life-blood, and nourishing herself against the time when her strength will equal the gigantic vastness of her conceptions.

But a glance at the map will show that England, if honestly administered, possesses in peace, even more than in war, the power of extinguishing her commercial rival, and this not by undue preference or unfair antagonism, but by simply taking the commonest precaution to secure a fair market for her own manufactures, and, therefore, for her own existence, by buying raw produce wherever it can be had cheapest.

A slight examination of the course of the great arterial watercourses of the earth, the tropical forests and vast plains of the south-western hemisphere, not to speak of those enormous tracts of land where roads lead down to the Black Sea—will sufficiently prove that before Russia could acquire the monopoly of raw produce, or England lose it, the tide of traffic must be unnaturally and artificially diverted. To effect this the court of St. Petersburg must have an English minister engaged directly in forwarding Russian interests—and one who possesses knowledge which his colleagues do not, and is, therefore, safe from counteraction.

The identity of the *methods* of government of England and Russia has been the reason why all those who have an interest in the continuance of the present illegal English method should proclaim that the *interests* of England and Russia are identical.

For centralisation, secrecy, and foreign intervention having been adopted simultaneously by both countries at the com-

mencement of the last century, it follows that in both a governing class was created separate from the great mass of the people; but as the forms and shadows of the old constitutional practices were still maintained in England, the conditions for admission into that class were different from those in Russia, and were more degrading; for in Russia it was sufficient for a man to possess talent; in England it was also requisite for him to assert maxims which he knew to be false, and to defend practices which he was well aware were vicious and wrong.

Thus the Russian statesman was placed, at the outset, on a higher level than his English compeer. Russia having to extend herself by intellectual means, and by those alone, and having no material power at her disposal, was necessitated to interfere with other states, to be secret in her projects and practices, and to centralise all disposable resources, whether of thought or of action, in the hands of the few to whom was intrusted the task of rolling on the snow-ball till it became an avalanche.

England's change of method was opposed to the interests of the nation, for it is clear that the extension of a commercial community by the fair channel of legitimate trade, requires, above all things, open and fair dealing—abhors interference in the internal matters of foreign countries, and demands also that every man in the state should have a knowledge of the affairs of the state, all being, so to speak, partners in one firm, and having a right to know of its affairs.

Therefore, in England, the transactions of the nation being managed by a few men in secret, those men necessarily raised up for themselves an interest apart from the rest of the nation, were compelled incessantly to deceive the nation, and were rendered incapable of resistance when brought into contact with the cabinet of St. Petersburg, who had no such clog upon their action; were thus forced into the further deceit of representing an identity of interests between the two countries, when, so far from any such existing, there was a direct opposition in the objects to be obtained, as England's interest was the tranquillity, and Russia's the convulsion, of all the nations of the earth.

It is equally alarming and instructive to observe how all the great statesmen of England, during the last century, have successively fallen over this insuperable difficulty of their false position; some more consciously and more guiltily than others, but without one instance of escape.

A hundred and fifty years are a fair test of a political system, and the epoch of the treaty of Vienna, in 1815, may be taken as a period for comparison as to the results produced on the one country and the other.

The balance-sheet would show, as against England, a national debt incurred of nearly £800,000,000, an increase of national expenditure from £51,000,000 to more than £80,000,000, an increase of poor-rates from £1,000,000 to £7,000,000, together with an enormous perpetuation and extension of normal pauperism, and also a recorded expenditure of £1,000,000,000 for various wars. To the profit side might be carried, though with questionable justice, the acquisition of India, Malta, Gibraltar, Corfu, some West-Indian Islands, and the power of extending Australian colonies.

To counterbalance these acquisitions would come the loss and subsequent rivalry of the United States of America; the necessity of keeping up enormous naval and military establishments; the danger comprised in the word "overtrading," and a change in the national character, more fatal than all; and this when every Englishman considered himself entitled to boast, and not without some show of reason, that the valour of his countrymen by sea and land had again and again enabled England to defy a world in arms, and that the genius of Britain's philosophers had been applied to ransack the treasures of earth and sea, and to multiply every convenience and comfort of life.

Russia would show a different result. Of great deeds of arms, except in the defence of her own territory, she could not boast, still less of invention in arts. Yet she could say—"I have increased the number of my own immediate population from 15,000,000 to 58,000,000. I have acquired from Sweden more than what remains of that kingdom, and of Poland a territory equal to Austria; I have gained from Turkey in Europe a territory of greater extent than the ancient limits of Prussia, and from Turkey in Asia what is nearly equal in extent to the smaller states of Germany. I have deprived Persia of provinces equal in extent to England, and in Tartary I have subjugated tracts of land of an area not inferior to Turkey in Europe, Greece, Italy, and Spain. Furthermore, I have in all these points excluded your manufactures, and so narrowed your markets and extended my own, and there is not a court or cabinet where my emissaries have not a voice at least as potential as any of their own kings or statesmen. To effect this I have not loaded myself with debt; I have not expended a thousand millions; the condition of my people is certainly not, in a material point of view, worse than when we commenced the struggle; and, what is more important to me than all, I have succeeded in gaining an ascendancy over men's minds in the East and West; so that whatever I choose to be thought and said of me, that do men think and say."

It is clear that of these two powers one has followed a

successful and the other an unsuccessful method, and yet these two methods at first sight appear similar. The only explanation is, that the one country has trusted to physical, and the other to intellectual means. Obviously the one could not compete with the other, as mind must always subdue matter; and the conclusion is, that the process of England was fallacious from the first.

It will be asked, is it intended to assert that an Englishman is naturally inferior in mind to a Russian? Are we to believe that all the Chathams, Foxes, Burkes, and Pitts were dolts, compared with a handful of renegade Germans?

Obviously not; but the Englishman working in secrecy—whether for or against his country, it matters not—was working illegally, he had no certain aim or end, except to keep himself in power; if he went right by accident, he had no support; as his process was underground; *he had no defined system of counteraction*. Though nothing could be more unoriginal than the Russian plan, nothing more trite than her incessant repetition of the same device, nothing more certain to be baffled when met by an honest minister of genius, yet (not to go to earlier times) the pages of Wraxall, Lord Malmesbury's Diary, and Lord Castlereagh's despatches contain little else but an incessant record of English ministers puzzled, terrified, and outwitted.

The three most remarkable men that England has in the last generation produced are Mr. Canning, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Palmerston. We have seen the first, a man of genius, and with the best intentions, lending himself against his will to an act ruinous to the best interests of his country, simply because he only discovered when too late that he had been tricked into a fraudulent agreement, and then allowed himself to be tempted by the threat of exposure into a direct interference with the rights of an ally.

The Duke of Wellington's case is less remarkable; his military genius, his power of material combination and quick decision were no protection when the battle was to be fought in the closet. He had, besides, been trained in the old fallacies of Turkey's weakness and Russia's strength, and his own feelings of gratitude for assistance rendered to him in Spain by the events of Moscow and the Beresina, all united to make an encounter with him a mere cynical pastime for the trained diplomatists of Russia.

Before adducing evidence, it may be well to give Lord Palmerston's own authentication of the despatches included in the publication known to diplomatists as "the Portfolio." These are his words:—

"It is true that these documents were taken away from

Warsaw on the occasion described. The way in which they originally came there was this:—The Grand Duke Constantine was the governor of the kingdom of Poland, and the emperor showed great respect and consideration for him, inasmuch that copies used to be sent from St. Petersburg of all documents of interest connected with the empire. A number of these papers were carried off at the fall of Warsaw. It was in the year 1834 that a Polish gentleman informed me that these documents contained very many important and interesting secrets. I said that I should be very glad to see them. Well, they were brought to me. I was occupied at the time, and had no leisure to go through them. I gave them, therefore, to Mr. Backhouse to look over. He did so; and laid before me one, which I read. The rest I put in a drawer, and there they lay till the spring of 1835. Such being the case, I have only to repeat that I read only one despatch containing an account of a conference with the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen about the blockade of the Dardanelles.”—Lord Palmerston, House of Commons, March 1, 1848.

Our readers will not fail to be startled at this indifference in such a man as Lord Palmerston to the revelation of the whole aims and method of procedure of the cabinet of St. Petersburg.

Greece had been designated by Peter as the great lever to be used against Turkey, and the Empress Catherine had been most successful in her efforts so to use it. But although possessing an *apparent* community of religion as the means, the government of the Turks had continually baffled the Russian designs. The rights of the Greeks had been respected, and their religion tranquilly enjoyed under the supremacy of a patriarch at Constantinople. The country was divided into municipalities, and the Greeks administered their own laws and *collected their own taxes*. No tax of any description either required by the Sultan for purposes of government or for local expenses, could be levied without the express consent of the provincial councils, as also of the mayors of the towns and villages, who assessed them proportionally among the families of their municipalities. Neither were any taxes imposed by a central power on articles of consumption.

But as Greece was, in the words of the Russian minister, “a vital question for the Emperor,” no resources were spared to secure the base, the corruptible, the dupes, and the fanatics of the country as a faction in the interests of Russia. The secret society of the Hetaireia was formed, and the people of Europe were taught by the literary *protégés* of St. Petersburg that the confusion in Greece was a struggle of the cross against the crescent.

Many of the petty European courts were tempted to favour the insurrection by the inducement of a crown for the younger princes—scholars were enthusiastic for the supposed descendants of the heroes of Plutarch—philanthropists became maudlin for the persecuted Greeks—adventurers were fired with the hope of prize-money and glory—capitalists were taught to think that a Greek loan would pay—and in 1820 Ypsilanti entered Moldavia from the Russian territory.

The Greek Patriarch of Constantinople was first compromised, and then betrayed by the Russian embassy, and was executed by the Sultan for treason. Europe was excited to horror at Turkish barbarity. The Greek revolution broke out, and the Emperor denounced it to the Sultan, offering to suppress it. The Sultan refused, the Emperor denounced the Greek revolution to Europe, and the insurgent Greeks becoming alarmed, took steps for the overthrow of Ypsilanti and the Russian faction, and, in 1822, elected Mavrocordato, an anti-Russian, President of the National Assembly.

In May, 1824, Count Nesselrode drew up his famous memoir, calling on the courts of Europe to aid Russia in the work of crushing this "anarchy and revolution." The Greeks were aroused to further indignation at Russian perfidy, and applied to Mr. Canning, who, on the 1st of December, 1824, recognized the Provisional Assembly and the belligerent rights of Greece.

By the act of Nauplia of July, 1825, the Greek nation placed "the sacred deposit of its independence, liberty, and political existence under the absolute protection of Great Britain," and Russia seized this as the groundwork of complications whereby to work out the downfall of Turkey.

She had succeeded in impressing Mr. Canning with great apprehension of her power, *and this was then, as it has always been, the secret and key of her action on successive British ministers.* Mr. Canning's classical memories led him to sympathize with Greece, and being a man of genius he had a statesmanlike desire to protect Turkey against Russia.

He sought, therefore, to solve the difficulty by interposing England between Greece and Turkey, on the one hand, and between Russia and Turkey on the other, and admitted the fatal idea that in associating England with Russia, he should by that union prevent the Russian government from overstepping the limit which he had laid down for himself.

This is precisely what Russia wished. She thereby detached England from Turkey, and obtained the co-operation of England with herself against Turkey, by means of the protocol of the 23rd of March, 1826.

The rest of the narrative will be best understood from the despatch of Count Nesselrode to Prince Lieven, dated St. Petersburg, 9th of January, 1827, from which at present we select extracts, proposing on a future occasion to publish it in its complete form :—

“The ulterior declarations which you have obtained from Mr. Canning have procured for us, on the one hand, information of the greatest interest, and on the other they have engaged the cabinet of London to advance farther in a matter of importance to the repose of Europe and to the interests of Russia. But you have not concealed from yourself, and rightly, that there was still great hesitation on the part of the English minister. Your excellency has addressed him a private letter (*réservee*) to announce to him that the Emperor, in deciding to pursue the pacification of Greece, thinks it indispensable, in case of an obstinate refusal on the part of the Porte, *to concert ulterior measures*, if the coercive means already suggested by the British cabinet, such as the recall of the ambassadors and the recognition of Greek independence, prove insufficient.”

The probable hesitation of Mr. Canning is then prognosticated, and the answers to his objections supplied. No loophole is left for Mr. Canning to escape by means of suggesting possible reluctance on the part of France, Austria, or Prussia.

“The accession of France (to the protocol of March) has taken place as the end of the means so carefully used by the Cabinet of London; and you can, without wounding the *amour propre* of Mr. Canning, let him understand that henceforth we have thought it indispensable frankly to enter upon the most difficult part of the problem which we have to solve. *If the Minister has sincerely the wish for the pacification of Greece, it is essential to furnish him with arms to combat the opposition of his colleagues.*”

The question then arises, what is Mr. Canning to pledge himself to, if he can be brought to agree to coercive measures, and what arguments are to be furnished to him for his colleagues?

“The real coercive measure which we suggest is, the union of our squadrons, in order to prevent any Turkish or Egyptian supplies of men, arms, ships, or munitions arriving in the Morea or the Archipelago.”

“When we think that at the present moment the Porte possesses no means of resistance—that even if the suggested measure be inefficacious, we propose to concert overt measures with our allies,” &c. “If Mr. Canning be sincere, he will thank you for furnishing him with similar arguments.”

Then arises the question, how he is to be dealt with if he is startled, "*s'il s'effarouche*." "If Mr. Canning objects to the proposed union of the squadrons, that England by herself could make use of those means, the answer is obvious. *Russia herself would not require the co-operation of the allies, if she wished to accomplish alone the pacification of Greece, either by this measure or by still more vigorous resolutions.*"

Thus Mr. Canning's fears are to be worked on; but if he still holds out, it is to be explained to him "that he may either conclude a formal treaty accompanied by clauses of which we prove the necessity, or agree to maintain the protocol of the 24th March; provided always that he agree, in carrying this act into execution, to measures which our ostensible despatch indicates in case of a treaty. The forms of the explanation may be as confidential and as secret as Mr. Canning may wish, but the explanation itself is indispensable."

But if, in spite of all this, Mr. Canning still holds out, a method is indicated "which you will hold in reserve, and only use at the last extremity. These means are to call the attention of Mr. Canning to the third clause of the protocol of the 23rd March; and to show him that according to this paragraph the contracting parties agree that whatever are the relations between Russia and the Porte, they will seize every favourable occasion either in common or SEPARATELY, to bring the Porte to submit to the arrangements which they agree on for the pacification of Greece."

Mr. Canning, impressed with the idea of the power of Russia; believing that she would attack the Porte if left to herself; unable to deny that by the protocol of March he had sanctioned her doing so; not able to support the idea of it being held up to the world that he had been outwitted when he imagined himself to be out-manceuvring Russia—Mr. Canning assented to the combination of the squadrons; and the broadsides which destroyed the Turkish fleet at Navarino were the salute over the grave of the broken-hearted minister.

Russia had organized the Hetaireia, and created the Greek insurrection. She then denounced it to the Porte, and offered to assist in quelling it; then menaced war in consequence of the severe measures taken by the Porte; spread the revolt by these measures, publicly notified by the departure of her ambassador; brought about the hostility between Turkey and Christendom, which she deplored; made herself be entreated by Mr. Canning to enter the alliance settled by the treaty of London, in July, 1826; obtained by the convention of Ackerman in October of the same year the confirmation of the treaty of Bucharest, and the pretext to interfere in the affairs of Moldavia and Wallachia

by engaging not to interfere in the affairs of Greece; got rid, by means of England and France in 1827, of the Turkish fleet at Navarino; and then, detaching herself from those allies, declared war upon separate grounds. She then moved an army across the Balkan and reached Adrianople; but losing it by plague and desertion, she was placed in a position of the greatest danger, and had to recover herself by bullying in London a British minister usually considered as the hero of the age.

The despatch of Prince Lieven and Count Matuzevich commences as follows :—

“London, June 13, 1829.

“The courier, bearer of your Excellency’s despatches of the 1st June, arrived here on the 7th of the same month.

“We waited his arrival with the greatest impatience, as at the approach of the moment when the session of Parliament was to close, the English ministry manifested a daily increasing desire to know if the protocol of the 21st April would obtain the approbation of the Emperor, and if his Imperial Majesty would consent to modify the extension which Rear-Admiral Ricord has just given to the blockade of the Dardanelles.

“The ministry, ignorant whether it ought to publish our blockades and to render them binding on all the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, or whether it ought to calm the uneasiness and jealousy which measures of this kind create here, would not delay to demand of us precise answers, equally difficult to give or to refuse.

“We had next day a conference with Lord Aberdeen. This minister, after having listened with lively attention to the perusal of the ostensible despatches of your Excellency of the date of the 1st of June, and of your instructions to the commander of the naval forces of the Emperor in the Mediterranean, did not hesitate to declare to us that if he himself had drawn up these two documents, he could not have rendered them more conciliatory or better adapted to maintain a happy concert between Russia and England.

“Lord Aberdeen did not contest to us in any way the right of blockading the Gulf of Enos. . . . The blockade in question would be a new blockade. *The English Government would make no difficulty in recognizing it; but to recognize it, it was necessary it should be officially published in the Gazette of London, or to indemnify the merchants whose speculations would be interrupted by our warlike measures; that he could not of course contract the second of these obligations, and that in fulfilling the first he would cause to be renewed the violent declamations against Russia and inconvenient remarks regarding our war, and appeal to the passions he had deplored on a former*

occasion. These attacks would be unjust, but unhappily they were in the nature of things in England.

“We insisted, nevertheless, on the demand that we were charged to sustain; *observing to Lord Aberdeen that a publication in the London Gazette appeared to us useless.*”

“Lord Aberdeen replied to us that the law was positive, and that without the official publication in the *London Gazette* the Government would be condemned to the payment of costs and interest to the injured parties (and his statement is correct). *Nevertheless, he declared to us that he would examine the matter with the most lively desire to find great expedients to assist it, and that he would speak of it to the Duke of Wellington.*”

The despatch then proceeds to narrate the conversation with the Duke of Wellington, and continues thus:—

“We applied ourselves to reproduce all the arguments that had appeared to shake Lord Aberdeen. They had not the same success on the Duke of Wellington, who limited himself to repeating, according to his custom, what he had already said, and returned to his thesis of the probable destruction of the Ottoman empire, *and persisted in declaring that in recognizing the blockade of Enos he would be obliged to examine in council the whole position of England.*

“We then thought it useful to let him perceive, without any reserve, that, much as the Emperor was disposed to concert with his allies, and much as he was desirous of spontaneously making every sacrifice compatible with his interests, when asked of him in friendship, he was equally resolved never to suffer any compromise of his dignity, never to yield to threats, and never indeed to admit them. *We added that such means, united with unjust suspicions, would lead to incalculable consequences.*

“A long pause followed this declaration, which the marshal did not appear to have foreseen. He recovered himself at last, and changing his tone and manner, assured us, that if we had attributed to him the idea of distrust or threat, that he had the highest opinion of the good faith of the Emperor, that he placed entire confidence in his words; he did not wish to have disagreeable questions to address to us, but he prayed us to consider whether it would not be more useful to allow things to remain on the footing on which they were, without provoking, by the announcement of a new blockade, such an exasperation as that which he had had to deplore in the former year; that people in England were of an extreme jealousy and susceptibility respecting maritime questions.” (The duke, it must be remembered, spoke of the England of twenty-five years ago; we have got rid of that susceptibility now.)

“That he did not pretend to question our right to blockade

Enos and all the coast of Roumelia, but that at present Adrianople was provisioned by the new harvests, without the assistance of the gulf, and from that moment the importance of the blockade was singularly diminished to us, and that it would be better, if it was indispensable, to resume it at another period, but for the moment to avoid the grave embarrassment which would result from it to the cabinet of his Britannic Majesty.

“‘It is then a proof of friendship, and a testimony of regard for your position, that you request from us, M. le Duc, and such sentiments as these our august master may accept; but he would require to know that the disposition with which they inspire him should not be mistaken.’

“‘You may assure his Imperial Majesty, gentlemen,’ said the duke, ‘that if he consents to raise the blockade of Enos we shall be exceedingly obliged to him—that we will be very grateful to him. I have the conviction that an intimate friendship between England and Russia is infinitely desirable. I give you my word for it. We will return confidence for confidence, *and if it please the Emperor to allow us to know something of his intention for the future, believe me that you will make this revelation to friends, and we will take care that nothing of it shall ever transpire.*’

“When the duke learnt that under such auspices we consented to the raising of the blockade of Enos, the conference terminated in the most amicable manner.”

Want of space prevents us giving more than one or two additional extracts from this marvellous paper:—

“Public opinion (said Lord Aberdeen) was always ready to burst forth against us (Russia). The British Government could not constantly brave it, and it would be dangerous to excite it on questions of maritime law, which touched so nearly the national prejudices.”

“*We know* (we replied) *the weight of public opinion in England, and we have seen it change in a few days.* It is against us because it thinks us aggressors, whilst we have been attacked; because it imputes to us the idea of overthrowing the Ottoman empire, whilst *we declare* that such is not our object; because, finally, it believes we pursue an ambitious policy, *against which we ourselves protest. To enlighten it on this point would be the surest way to correct it.*”

(*Videlicet* articles in the *Times* from 1853 to 1856.)

“Lord Aberdeen replied, that *au reste* the British cabinet was far from not wishing us success; on the contrary, it wished us success, prompt and decisive.

“We shall add, that in meditating on this language of the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen, it reveals the appre-

hension of the embarrassments which would be raised by any parliamentary discussion, and the no less real fear of seriously indisposing us. The Prime Minister made the *amende honorable* as soon as he perceived that his words and his bravadoes would only serve to trouble that peace which is necessary to him. *It is perceptible that he avoids, and even dreads, the examination of the situation in which he stands, and that according to his custom he confides to events the care of overcoming difficulties.* Singular combination of timidity and audacity—the Duke of Wellington often provokes the chances he apprehends, and thenceforth he confronts them without calculating the real consequence of his determination.

“It would have been the more imprudent to irritate him after all his protestation and excuses, as the question of blockade really does excite the opinion of England against us, wounds the national pride, *and imposes silence on those who would defend us.*

Whom Russia looked to even then to defend her we learn from the following passage which has been since written in letters of blood in Poland, Afghanistan, China, Sicily, Hungary, and lastly in the Crimea—and in Kars:—

“YOUR EXCELLENCY WILL HAVE REMARKED THAT THE MINISTRY HAS NOT DARED TO ANSWER THE SPEECH IN WHICH LORD PALMERSTON, WHOSE NAME IS HENCEFORTH ASSOCIATED WITH THOSE OF THE FIRST ORATORS OF ENGLAND, HAS INSISTED ON THE PRESERVATION OF THE GENERAL PEACE, AND PROVED THAT AN AUSTRO-TURKISH POLICY WOULD ONLY SERVE TO DISTURB IT. IT IS PROBABLE THAT, AIDED BY OUR MODERATION, THIS SALUTARY DISPOSITION WILL MAKE EVERY DAY NEW PROSELYTES.”

One extract more we must give, to show that at this moment the destiny of Russia hung in the scale. The despatch thus concludes:—

“*It would be dangerous, on the other hand, to dissemble to ourselves, that these ends, easy of acquisition in 1829, RISK BECOMING PROBLEMATIC AND EVEN IMPOSSIBLE IN 1830.*”

CHAPTER II.

THE Privy Council, with very few exceptions, continued to exercise its ancient functions over the government of this country down to the Revolution of 1688. The historical student will remember the exceptional cases in the reigns of Charles I. and of his son. The private meetings of the confidential advisers of the former were first called "meetings of the cabinet;" and the reign of the latter has enriched our language with the word "Cabal," from the initials of his councillors' names.

In 1769 Sir William Temple for a time succeeded in restoring the lawful practice. The King promised "to lay aside the use he may hitherto have made of any single ministry, or private advisers, or foreign committees for the direction of his affairs;" and it was declared that "by the constant advice of a Privy Council, to be chosen out of the several parts which this state is composed of, his Majesty is henceforth resolved to govern his kingdom."

Upon the breach of this royal promise, the same great statesman advised the King that—"in his affairs he would please to make use of some council or other;" and boldly told him that "to make councillors that should not counsel, he doubted whether it were in his Majesty's power or no, because it implied a contradiction;" and, upon another occasion, that—"he did not very well understand why a thing agreed upon last night at council table should be altered in his chamber."—(Sir W. Temple's Works, vol. ii., pp. 522, 537, and App., p. 554.)

The reader will compare with this the letter of the Queen on the dismissal of Lord Palmerston in 1852, and will perceive that by the departure from the old constitutional practice it is now in the power of a single minister arbitrarily to alter the instructions he has received from the Sovereign.

During the recess of Parliament all power is confessedly in the hands of one man, as shown by the evidence of the Duke of Newcastle before the Sebastopol committee.

"Q. Was any blockade enforced in the Black Sea?

"A. No; it was not.

"Q. In that most critical period, from August last to the middle of December, no cabinet council was held. Can you tell the reason? Must a certain number of ministers be present?

"A. No; there is no quorum.

"Q. Can you state the reason why no cabinet council was held during this period?

"A. I can give no special reason; it is not the practice to hold cabinet councils at that time in the year. It is the ordinary practice not to hold any from the prorogation of Parliament till some time in October.

"Q. On whose authority are cabinet councils summoned?

"A. Generally speaking, on the authority of the Prime Minister or the Foreign Secretary.

"Q. Were the despatches you received transmitted to all your colleagues?

"A. To all who were in town.

"Q. Then those ministers who were not in town had no knowledge of what was going on in the Crimea except from sources that were not official?

"A. I do not know what information they possessed, but they were not kept informed by me."

On the advent of William III., the abrogation of the functions of the council called forth this indignant remonstrance from a member of the Lower House:—

"That has not been the method of England! If this method be, you will never know who gives advice."—(Somers' Tracts, pp. 276–293.)

In 1700 an effort was made to revert to the constitutional practice. The Act of Settlement, 12 & 13 Gul. III., ch. 2, contained the following statutory declaration:—"All matters and things relating to well governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the Privy Council by the laws and customs of this realm, shall be transacted there; *and all resolutions taken thereon shall be signed by each of the Privy Council as shall advise and consent to the same.*"

At the general election of 1705 the Whigs obtained a majority; Godolphin joined them, Cowper was made Lord Chancellor, the succession was settled on the issue of the Princess Sophia, and the triumphant faction repealed that statutory declaration, 4th Anne, c. 8.

It is plain that Parliament had no legal competency thus to usurp the right of being the sole deliberative body, and of appointing the executive, as Parliament itself existed by law and custom; and, therefore, could not have power to change that to which it owed its origin, any more than a tenant in tail can alienate to his own use the heir-looms in which he has a life interest. Parliament, it has always been held by the best judges, can declare, but cannot alter, the common law of the land; nor can any time or continuance make that usurpation valid which was invalid from the first, any more than

unlawful possession for a term of years will exclude the rightful owner of a real estate.

The Whig families, for their own ends, suppressed and stifled the powers of the Privy Council, but they dared not assert that they had the power to change the laws of England, or limit the prerogative of the Crown to advice.

The Privy Council did not owe its existence to the Act of Settlement, the repealing of a clause of that Act did not therefore destroy it, but left it in the same state as before, as if neither of the clauses in the Acts had been recited.

By the law of the land, then, the Privy Council is the principal one which the Queen has for all matters of state. It consists of an indefinite number of persons appointed by summons, with the exception of the President, who holds his seat by patent.

It is his peculiar duty to attend the royal person, and to represent to her Majesty the affairs of the council. All the councillors hold office during the life of the sovereign. Their duties are enumerated in their oath of office. They are to consult for the public good, and for the honour, safety, and profit of the realm—to advise without partiality, and without corruption, and to keep the Queen's counsel secret. They are to help and strengthen what shall be there resolved, and to withstand all persons who should attempt the contrary.

The method of practice has been thus laid down:—"At the setting of the Great Seal of England to foreign alliances, the Lord Chancellor has a plain rule to follow; that is, humbly to inform the king that he cannot legally set the Great Seal of England to a matter of that consequence, unless the same be first debated and resolved in council, which method being observed, the Chancellor is safe and the council answerable."—Somers' Tracts, XI., 276.

The facility of conference between the sovereign and the Privy Council upon the measures of government could not fail, in all cases, to be productive of the greatest benefit.

The sovereign would be enabled to impart information of importance to disinterested and secret advisers, and in return to receive from them information and advice, such as the secretaries of state, or other ministerial advisers, may have been unable or unwilling to give.

At every meeting of the Privy Council, there would be some one man of ability and honour ready to be confronted in the royal presence with those intrusted with the actual administration of affairs, and to advise the sovereign before any measure of importance could have its course. Nor need we point to the great advantage of having a standing council, not removable by

the fluctuations of party, nor subject to the triumph of a parliamentary majority, obtained too often by corrupt means.

As to the modern practice, we all know that the Crown is thereby placed in the position of a gentleman who is precluded from asking the advice of his friends, and is compelled to receive it from his servants alone, a process which has necessarily ended in the domination of the servant over his master.

In the words of an old writer, "It is an innovation by evil ministers that war and peace, and matters of the highest consequence, should be finally concluded in a secret cabal, and only pass through the Privy Council for form's sake, as a conduit pipe to convey these resolutions with authority to the people."—Somers' Tracts.

A similar change was introduced into the relation of England with foreign states by the establishment of permanent embassies.

To Cardinal Richelieu, who carried out the innovation of Louis XI., has been usually attributed the introduction of the custom of keeping envoys constantly residing at foreign courts, and receiving permanent ambassadors at his own; and it is remarkable that he succeeded in usurping authority over his master, and engrossing the power of the state, through the means of the meshwork of "foreign policy" in which he had involved them, much as Lord Palmerston has done with England, with this difference, that the cardinal used his power to extend the interests and influence of his own country.

It is remarkable that, two years after the supercession of the Privy Council, the first attempt was made by Russia to procure the interference of England in the affairs of Poland. In May, 1709, the Queen granted an audience to the ambassador of Muscovy, who delivered a letter from his master, containing complaints of the King of Poland, who had maltreated the Russian troops sent to his assistance, concluded a peace with the King of Sweden, and surrendered the deserter Pathul. The Queen actually did interfere on behalf of Pathul, but without success. In the same year the Muscovite ambassador, having been arrested for debt in London, the Czar demanded from the Queen the capital punishment of all persons concerned; but no such law existing in England, an Act of Parliament was passed for preserving the privileges of ambassadors and foreign ministers, and the practice of having foreign residents in our capital, and sending our own to reside abroad, passed into a chronic habit, rendering incessant the interference of one country with the internal affairs of another, and taking away all solemnity from international intercourse; so that Napoleon,

when meditating at St. Helena on the way in which he had been led on to his ruin by that "Greek of the lower empire," the Emperor Alexander, was forced to exclaim that, had he been allowed to retain the throne of France, he would have sought but two great objects—the one the putting down of standing armies, the other the putting down of permanent embassies.

There has been an occasional faint and feeble expostulation against the illegal method, and of these none is more remarkable than the sentence delivered by the great Lord Camden in the case of "*Emtinck v. Carrington*," on the question of the legality of general warrants. These are his words:—

"We must know what a secretary of state really is. His power is so extensive in place that it spreads through the whole realm; yet in object it is so confined, that, except in libel and some other state crimes, the secretary of state does not pretend to the authority of a constable.

"This officer is, in truth, the king's private secretary. He is the keeper of the signet and the seal for the king's private letters, and backs the sign manual in transmitting grants, and the privy seal.

"It is not difficult to account for this minister's importance. *He became naturally significant from the time that all the courts in Europe began to admit resident ambassadors; for on the growth of this new policy the whole foreign correspondence passed through the secretary's hands, who by this means grew to be an entrusted and confidential minister.*"

That is to say, that from the time that Peter the Great purchased the Marquis of Carmarthen, the growth of the Russian Chancery and of the English Foreign Office were simultaneous, and the ministers who established themselves in power by means of the identity of the operation of the latter with that of the former, have promulgated to the unthinking British nation the most dangerous and fallacious notion that there was an identity of interests between England and Russia, because there was but an identity of governing method.

England has had no minister capable of dispelling this injurious delusion, for to destroy it was to destroy the only conditions under which power was attainable. Therefore, though Russia herself continually brought into evidence the opposition between English and Russian interests, at one time by devising the armed neutrality against us as in 1780 and in 1800, and at all times by opposing our manufacturing and commercial interests, and distracting our Indian empire, yet no English minister could oppose her, as none had sufficient courage and honesty to revert to the old constitutional practice of England, which, by taking cognizance of all public matters

before the sovereign in Council, would have destroyed that secrecy on which depended the success of Russia.

But the illegality of tenure of office which paralyzed the power of resistance in an English minister did not extend to an English sovereign, and it was from a king of England that we find the only indications of resistance to Russia that the last hundred and fifty years of our annals exhibit; and this mainly because a functionary then existed, whose office was abolished for their own ends by the ministers who surrounded our Queen on her first accession to the throne.

William IV. had learned to distrust all the great leaders of parties. Equally disgusted with the personal degradation he experienced from the chiefs of the Reform ministry, and with the nature of the support he was offered by their adversaries, he was willing to accept, as a means of extrication, the suggested attempt of rescuing himself from Russian vassalage; both with the patriotic desire to save England and Europe from Muscovite domination, and also to rescue his own kingly office from subjection to the chiefs of faction, by earning the gratitude of his subjects through the increased prosperity which would necessarily follow his success.

There was at that time a means of communication between the king and his subjects in the person of the king's private secretary, an officer which, till the accession of Queen Victoria, no English sovereign had been without. There were then none of those so-called "constitutional objections" which recently, on the death of Lord Ponsonby, prevented that nobleman's political testament reaching the hands of his sovereign, for whose use it was written, and whose eyes it might have opened.

The late king's private secretary, Sir Herbert Taylor, becoming possessed of the knowledge of the designs of Russia, and communicating them to his master, the King of England resolved to attempt that which no English minister had been able; and by a singular concatenation of circumstances the most favourable means were ready to his hands.

The means proposed were threefold. The Russian despatches seized at Warsaw gave a full exposure of the designs of the cabinet of St. Petersburg, the intellectual means used for their accomplishment, and of the hold possessed over the various courts and cabinets of Europe. To publish these in England was to explain to assembled Europe the danger and its means of resistance, and this the king decided should be done.

To develop the resources of Turkey was to undersell and ruin Russia, and also to open a market for the sale of English manufactures, so vast, that in itself it would almost have been a recovery of our diseased commercial system. Mahmoud, sultan

of Turkey, and William, king of England, had both set their hearts on accomplishing this object, and under the auspices of both a commercial treaty was prepared, certain to produce these results.

The third mode of action proposed by the king was of a more direct kind: it was to assert the independence alike of England and of Circassia, by the simple process of sending British merchantmen to trade with a people who, both *de jure* and *de facto*, were an unconquered, separate, and independent nation.

Suddenly the king died, at a moment so opportune for Russia that his death appears to fall under the same category as that of Gustavus III., and of the Emperors Paul and Alexander. Instantly the anti-Russian projects of the deceased king were reversed, so as to occasion as much dishonour to England as their realisation would have brought profit and glory.

Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston, had commenced his public career as a Lord of the Admiralty in 1807; in 1809 he had become Secretary at War, which office he had held until 1828, under Tory administrations. In 1830 he went over to the Whigs, who made him their permanent Secretary for Foreign Affairs, of which he has ever since had the direct control, excepting from November, 1834, to April, 1835; from 1841 to 1846; and more recently during the short interval of Lord Derby's administration.

As a Tory he had distinguished himself by speeches in favour of secrecy in the conduct of public matters (February 3, 1808), of garrisoning England with foreign troops (March 10, 1812), of lavish expenditure (May 16, 1821), and he had earned the commendations of the cabinet of St. Petersburg, by his defence of the treaty of Adrianople in 1829. Becoming possessed of the key of the Foreign Office, and thus getting into his hands the whole power of the empire, he had signalised himself by preventing the interference of France, Sweden, Austria, Turkey, and Persia, for the independence of Poland, by compelling Persia to accept the dictum that the "interests of England and Russia were identical;" and in 1834 by defending that treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, which his treaties of 1841 and 1856 have approved and confirmed.

The patriotism of William IV., therefore, placed Lord Palmerston in the utmost embarrassment, as he had to support Russia against the commands of his own master, and the death of the king afforded him the only possible extrication.

After that event all was perfectly easy to him; he admitted the right of Russia to confiscate the property of English merchants trading to the coast of Circassia; he altered the Turkish treaty of commerce, so as to prevent the export of articles of

Turkish produce; and the publication of the Russian despatches was absolutely turned to the profit of the cabinet of St. Petersburg, by bringing into evidence the fact that the English nation was possessed with the knowledge of their designs, without venturing to counteract them.

At the time, of the disputed succession to the throne of Persia Lord Palmerston wrote to St. Petersburg, "*As the interests of England and Russia are the same, it would be well if they agreed on the choice of some one candidate.*"

In the civil war that ensued England afforded material aid in troops and money to the Russian nominee. Lord Palmerston so violated the law of nations and the law of England, by direct interference, to control by force of arms an independent nation in the choice of its ruler. He did so to place a Russian viceroy on the throne of Persia.

So with regard to the Polish insurrection in 1831. England had, by the treaty of Vienna, bound herself to maintain the Polish constitution. Lord Palmerston violated the public law by declaring that "the rights of the Czar (to destroy the Polish constitution) were incontestable," and by his interference to prevent Turkey, Persia, Sweden, Austria, and France, from maintaining those rights which the three latter powers, together with England, had contracted to guarantee. By these infractions of the law of nations, he destroyed the barriers that Persia and Poland would have offered to the onward march of Russia.

So with regard to Circassia in 1837. In 1856 he again violated public law by admitting sovereign rights of Russia over the independent Caucasian tribes, which neither *de jure* nor *de facto* she has ever possessed. Thus another barrier was assailed.

The same with regard to the invasion of Afghanistan in 1839. No declaration of war was made, and public law was violated by him that Russian prestige might be established beyond the Indus.

So in the case of the attack on China—an expedition decided to be no legal war by our own courts of justice. By this violation of public law Lord Palmerston secured to Russia the navigation of the Amoor, and immense districts in Tartary, breaking down the opposition of China to her.

By a similar breach of public law in the blockade of the South American States, without a declaration of war, he extinguished their trade in raw produce, and gave the monopoly to Russia.

It is not necessary to follow his continuous action in Greece, Turkey, and Italy, in all of which the law of nations and the law of the land has been perpetually set aside, not for the profit of England, but for that of Russia.

But why should we turn to other countries? During the

late war Lord Palmerston waived the maritime action of England against Russian trade, and by the treaty of Paris, in express terms abandoned its future exercise.

Not to go back to ancient times, the Act of 5 & 6 Will. IV., c. 61, for carrying into effect the treaty with the King of Denmark, the King of the French, and the King of Sardinia, would show, if proof were needed, that a treaty cannot alter the law of the land.

Lord Palmerston, then, has set aside the law, and set himself above it, as he has set himself above the Crown. By his abrogation of the law of England he has used the power of the realm to the injury of the realm. Further, he has deprived the Queen of her councillors, and has thus usurped supreme power. By resorting to the power of the law alone can action be taken against him.

The nation did not respond to the appeal of the Queen when she dismissed Lord Palmerston for "taking important decisions with which she was not acquainted, and arbitrarily altering measures which she had agreed to."—(Letter of the Queen, read in the House of Commons, Feb. 3, 1852.)

The Parliament has admitted the principle of the same minister that it is right and proper for him to withhold all information from them, and has endorsed his dogma, "that while negotiation is pending discussions are dangerous; after its completion they are useless." "We are not called upon to take this House into our counsels in regard to what we are going to do (laughter)."—(Lord Palmerston, House of Commons, July 18, 1856.)

It is advisable to select two acts, both complete in themselves—the one having a present, the other a prospective effect on England, to cripple and limit the resources of the Queen's subjects and of her allies, and to extend the territory and dominion of Russia—THE TURKISH COMMERCIAL TREATY OF 1838; AND THE DANISH SUCCESSION TREATY OF 1852.

The first case is comparatively simple. On the 16th of August, 1838, Lord Palmerston being Foreign Secretary, a treaty framed by him was negotiated between Great Britain and the Porte. The 4th article of this contract stipulates that,—

"If any article of Turkish produce, growth, or manufacture be purchased for exportation, the same shall be conveyed by the British merchant or his agent, free of any kind of charge or duty whatsoever, to a convenient place of shipment, on its entry into which *it shall be liable to one fixed duty of nine per cent. ad valorem.*

"*Subsequently, on exportation, the duty of three per cent. shall be paid.*"

This *ad valorem* duty being calculated by prices at Constantinople, which are more than double those of other parts of the Ottoman Empire, the duty virtually amounted to 25 per cent. on grain and oil, and 50 per cent. on Indian corn.

Further, this treaty was substituted by Lord Palmerston for another which the Porte had agreed to negotiate, which had provided for free export, or for a duty no higher than 3 per cent. Of the draft of this treaty Lord Ponsonby, then ambassador at Constantinople, had said that "it would produce the most magnificent results to the Ottoman Empire."

The obvious and necessary result of Lord Palmerston's substituted treaty was effectually to extinguish Turkey as a competitor with Russia in all articles of raw produce, just as much as if France, in the interest of the German Zollverein, were to impose on England an export duty of 50 per cent. on all manufactured goods leaving British ports. The effect of the treaty of 1838, in the case of Turkey, has been just as ruinous to her internal development as such a one as we have supposed would be to the cotton and woollen fabrics of Lancashire and Yorkshire.

It is needless to say that we ourselves have suffered in a corresponding, or even in a greater degree, for by trading with Turkey we should have paid her for her produce in our manufactures, and Lord Palmerston, by diverting the trade to Russia, who takes scarcely anything but gold or cotton-yarn (which yields almost nothing to labour) in exchange for her hides and tallow, has established a drain of bullion, which may at any time, and must at some time, owing to the currency laws, produce panic and convulsion.

The Danish treaty is still more extraordinary; it is far more complicated, and will be, as regards Europe, far more fatal.

This treaty was contrived between the Russian ambassador and Lord Palmerston, ostensibly as a means of conciliating the Court of St. Petersburg, which affected to be offended at the noble lord's blockade of the Piræus on account of the pots and pans of Don Pacifico. It bears date the 8th of May, 1852. It is very short, consisting only of five clauses, and of a preamble which purports that the treaty is intended to give "to the arrangements relating to the order of succession (in Denmark) an additional pledge of security by an act of European acknowledgment."

It then provides that "the whole of the dominions now united under the sceptre of the King of Denmark shall devolve upon the male line."

It next entails the crown of Denmark and the incorporated duchies upon "the issue male of his Highness the Prince Christian Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg."

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It is worth passing under review the judgments different public men have at various times expressed of the same nobleman.

Four of the six daily papers have at one time or another charged Lord Palmerston with high treason. The *Times*, the *Morning Advertiser*, and the *Morning Post* have made no retraction; yet they all support him.

Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Sidney Herbert accused him of making "an infamous, unjust, and iniquitous war," and afterwards sat in the same cabinet with him; having made no retraction.

Sir James Graham voted that he had, by the sacrifice of the *Vixen*, "caused to England the loss of honour, influence, and character." Sir James made no retraction, but sat in the same cabinet with him.

Lord Stratford, who brought that charge forward, still serves under him; of course without retraction.

Mr. Disraeli charged him with connivance with Russia during the war, and expressed his fear that, by his means, "the honour of England would be tarnished, and her interests betrayed;" and Mr. Disraeli has since, without a retraction, expressed himself "encouraged" by the speeches of the noble lord.

Mr. Roebuck charged him with "mischievous activity in perplexing and distracting our relations with the world at large;" and Mr. Roebuck, having given no explanation of his change of opinion, votes with and supports him.

The list of the *gentes minores* who have followed the same lead is too large to enumerate; we may, however, particularize Mr. Danby Seymour, who continued to hold office under Lord Palmerston, whom he stated, in a recent publication, to have prospectively made over Denmark to the Czar; and Mr. Chisholm Anstey, who has been appointed attorney-general in one of the colonies, after having charged the premier with high treason in the Commons' House of Parliament—and made no retraction.

The climax of all is, Lord John Russell, who, having read in the House of Commons the Queen's letter charging Lord Palmerston with placing himself above the Crown, and with wilfully deceiving his sovereign in matters of state, afterwards sat in the same cabinet with him.

The formula of the late premier's method might be given thus as a supplement to the will of Peter the Great:—

"In the name of his imperial majesty we, Henry John Viscount Palmerston, sole dictator of Great Britain and its dependencies, have left the following instructions for the guidance of

Nothing, at first sight, can appear on the one hand more simple, on the other more perplexing; but on examining the "Almanach de Gotha," and investigating the genealogies therein recorded, we find that this treaty, by one or other of its clauses, sets aside the claims of the houses of Augustenbourg, Glücksbourg, Hesse, and Oldenbourg to the duchies or to the crown of Denmark. We then refer to the protocol of Warsaw of the 5th of June, 1851, and we discover therein the following stipulation:—

"The undersigned have, after mature examination, decided—

"1. The object proposed in the interest of the peace of the north, and that of the august House of Oldenbourg, and the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish monarchy, can only be realized by means of a combination which shall fix the succession for the whole of the states now under the sceptre of the King of Denmark *in male heirs, to the exclusion of females.*

"2. The male heirs of Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg and his wife the Princess Louise of Hesse *unite all* the hereditary rights which, in the event of there being no direct male heir, *belong to them* by the *renunciations* of the Landgrave Charlotte of Hesse, and her son Prince Frederick, and his daughter the Princess Mary of Anhalt-Dessau.

"3. His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, as chief of the elder branch of Holstein-Gothorp, wishing to complete the rights resulting from these renunciations, and to bring about a combination of such high interest as the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish monarchy, is ready to renounce the eventual rights which belong to him in favour of the Prince Christian of Glücksbourg and his male descendants.

"It is, *nevertheless*, understood—

"That the eventual rights of the two younger branches of *Holstein-Gothorp* will be expressly reserved.

"*That those which the august head of the elder branch abandons for himself and for his male descendants in favour of Prince Christian of Glücksbourg and his male descendants SHALL REVIVE IN THE IMPERIAL HOUSE OF RUSSIA AT THE PERIOD WHEN (WHICH GOD FORBID !) THE MALE DESCENDANTS OF THAT PRINCE SHALL BECOME EXTINCT.*"

Before the signing of this treaty twenty-five heirs stood between the succession and the "Imperial House of Russia." Now only four remain between that house and its inheritance!

Lord Derby and Lord Malmesbury signed this treaty in ignorance of its nature, and when it was explained to them maintained it because afraid to confess themselves duped.

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The formula of the late premier's method might be given thus as a supplement to the will of Peter the Great:—

"In the name of his imperial majesty we, Henry John Viscount Palmerston, sole dictator of Great Britain and its dependencies, have left the following instructions for the guidance of

any succeeding minister who is artful enough to blind the suspicions of the British nation, and sufficiently dexterous to be accepted as an agent by the cabinet of St. Petersburg :—

“Section 1. The British sovereign must be kept in profound ignorance of her power and prerogatives, and in dread of exercising them. No time for reflection on important measures must ever be given her; the menace of unpopularity must be incessantly kept over her; and every means must be used for sowing distrust and suspicion of her in the minds of her people. She must be as much degraded as possible in the eyes of the nation as well as in her own—‘in the interest of the aggrandizement and increasing welfare of Russia.’

“2. By all possible means we must attach to us the most intelligent and unscrupulous men in the country. ‘All men,’ as one of our predecessors has said, ‘have their price;’ but we must remember that in many cases the smiles of beauty, the *entrée* to society, and the first possession of a piece of intelligence, are more efficacious than even a commissionership, a consulship, or a colonial attorney-generalship. Indeed, in most instances a man may be gained by a nod and a promise, so that we get all the advantage that can be derived from him without parting with anything ourselves.

“3. We must be careful always fully to commit any adherents we may gain in such a manner that we may destroy their character if they show any after symptoms of weakness or retraction. On the other hand, we must advise our friends never openly to attempt our defence if any one should venture to attack us, but to prefer the far more efficient method of privately ridiculing, defaming, and otherwise blackening the reputation of our opponents.

“4. The day has gone by for subsidizing literary men, except in rare instances, where it may be necessary for a particular purpose first to write and then to suppress a pamphlet. There is generally a certain amount of newspaper property in the market which can be purchased, and even made a good investment; in other cases we can offer the advantages of prior intelligence, which by good, safe management may also be made available on the Stock Exchange.

“5. On all occasions we must meddle with the discords and affairs of the world, whether by picking quarrels with other nations, for which an ingenious minister can always make a pretext, or by interfering with their internal affairs. It will be also necessary to infringe treaties and the laws of nations ourselves, and then to accuse other governments of having done so. My own mode of action with regard to Spain, Portugal, Greece, China, Central Asia, South America, and Egypt and Syria, are

excellent examples, which cannot be too closely studied and followed.

“6. My method of proceeding with regard to the English Parliament should be strictly adhered to. An examination of my speeches will show that I always got myself out of every dilemma by promising *monts et merveilles* when there was the slightest chance of any scrutiny of my conduct, particularly when there was likely to be a majority against me. When I had a majority on my side, I have taken a decided tone and appealed to my character. The English nation is always accessible to claptrap, and its judicious use has gained me the name of the truly British minister; but never, on any account, attempt a defence of yourself unless quite sure of having previously gained a preponderating party in your favour. If you are not certain of it, stay away. Whip for a count-out, but do not run the risk of a speech.

“7. I think I have pretty well settled Poland. She will give our imperial master no more trouble; but as, on a future occasion, he intends to make use of her against Europe, it will be as well to keep up Polish sympathetic societies in England, in order, when he puts the Poles in motion, to represent the movement as a ‘Pansclavonic regeneration,’ and so acquire the feelings of the English people on his side.

“8. The perfect success of my Danish treaty, and its necessary results upon Sweden and Germany, make it unnecessary for me to leave my instructions on that head to those who may come after me. It will be well, however, to bring prominently forward the idea of a ‘Panscandinavian league’—these sort of terms, Panhellenism, Panscandinavianism, Pansclavonianism, are as useful as were the pans of Don Pacifico.

“9. It will be always necessary to represent to the British nation that corn, tallow, hemp, hides, wood, tar, bristles, &c., can be got nowhere but in Russia. The intelligent English never think of applying their geographical knowledge to commercial matters, and I have succeeded in making them think themselves under very great obligations to his imperial majesty for allowing them to purchase from him materials for their ropes, brooms, and tallow candles, in exchange for the gold which he cannot do without. It will be remembered that I kept up this joke during the late war. I have nearly succeeded in shutting oil out of the market as a substitute for tallow, and have placed almost the whole of the corn trade in the hands of his imperial majesty. It will be necessary carefully to continue this, and to *pooh-pooh* the idea of any commercial treaties except such as prohibit the exportation of articles which can be procured from Russia. In the event of any country making the

attempt to develop its resources in spite of our prohibitions, it will be necessary to blockade its ports or invade its territory, for which a pretext can always be made.

"10. In due time the trade of England will fall off, and that of Russia will increase, so that she will eventually monopolize the commerce of the world. Then the game is won. I have so far arranged this that you will have only to let it slide away of itself. But you must take care to keep on the currency laws, and encourage bubble speculations.

"11. It may be necessary to engage England in a war with other powers, in order to develop the Russian marine by the advantages of the carrying trade. I have secured this to her by establishing her maxim of free ships, free goods, in opposition to our own. My successor will be duly instructed from St. Petersburg when the proper time has arrived.

"12. With regard to Turkey, it will be judicious for you to talk of her as a barbarous and savage country, wholly without power or resources, and quite unfit to manage her own affairs. I only took the contrary line once, when it was necessary to have an English fleet in the Bosphorus. You must represent her as living only on the sufferance of Russia, and being unable to protect herself, and also as a profitable field for English exploitation. This will make your interference in her internal affairs popular, and you must endeavour, by such interference, to excite the various classes of the Eastern populations against each other, and so to kindle civil war; this, it is to be hoped, will at last subdue the patience of the Turks, and induce the Porte to call in Russia to protect her, and so eventually give our imperial master possession of Constantinople, the key of empire.

"13. The imperial cabinet will continue its task of exciting against us the various populations in Persia and on the north-west frontier of India. You must, on your side, be careful by every means to excite their distrust of us, and also in every way to outrage the feelings of our Indian subjects, so as to prepare for the time when it will be necessary to get up insurrections throughout the whole of Hindostan.* This can be made a popular proceeding if due means be taken to excite the religious communities at home in a crusade against idolatry, polygamy, and Mahomedanism.

"14. You must always represent Austria as the incarnation of all that is evil. You must excite the Italians to revolt against her, as I did in 1848; then excite her to cruelties against them, and inveigh against her atrocities. With such means at

* First published in the *Morning Herald*, August 29th, 1856.

command as Prussia, Austrian Poland, Lombardy, Hungary, Sardinia, and the French occupation of Rome, my successor will be at no loss eventually to paralyze any resistance on the part of the cabinet of Vienna, and so gain the entire navigation of the Danube for Russia. In the mean time you can use Austria against Turkey, and so excite the jealousy of France.

"15. With the revolutionary Poles and Italians in your hands, and the consequent power of upsetting a dynasty, you will never have any trouble with France. I have always found a pretext against her when a quarrel was necessary, and you may trust to your literary friends to place her in such a position relative to England as the imperial cabinet may desire. My procedure with respect to the Syrian war of 1840, and to the Spanish marriages, must be borne in mind.

"16. As to the results which have to be produced, we may safely leave to the cabinet of St. Petersburg the choice of an opportune time to fulfil the two last clauses of the will of Peter the Great. Your task is comparatively simple, you have but to use England as you are ordered. To be able to do this effectually you must be careful to extinguish all notions that patriotism is respectable or ignorance shameful. The best way to effect this, in addition to properly cultivating the habit of persiflage, and of regarding self-interest as the one great motive, is to inculcate the notion that the only gentlemanly mode of treating serious matters is to deal with them as a joke.

"Make fun of everything, laugh at laws, insist on the necessity of secrecy, make epigram take the place of reason and expediency of justice, confound right with wrong and wrong with right, and never lose an opportunity of pointing out that the nation's duty and its interest are opposed, and that it is its interest to abandon its duties, and its duty to follow its interest. You had better carefully study my speeches, and, particularly my repartees.

"You will soon be saved any trouble, for your example will be so pleasant and easy to follow that your principal difficulty will be, not to gain adherents, but to keep back bungling imitators, whose clumsiness will bring upon your method the risk of detection.

"Of such, however, there is little fear; once set a stone or a country rolling down hill, and it will tumble all the quicker for being left to itself. I flatter myself that I have been tolerably successful in giving it the impetus, and though I have a pleasant satisfaction in leaving these maxims behind me, yet my successor will have little to do but to read the despatches from St. Petersburg and obey orders, and England will very soon be what I have been trying all my life to make her."

CHAPTER III.

ENGLAND is governed by conspiracy.

Conspiracy implies secrecy on the part of the conspirators, unconsciousness on the part of those conspired against: infraction of the law on the one side, and suffering on the other. To prove our assertion we need not go back further than the last three years.

First, as to the secrecy :—

We know from the blue-books that the late emperor of Russia made proposals to her Majesty's ministers to divide Turkey with England.

That these proposals were not rejected, but were kept secret from the nation until published by Russia herself.

That Lord Stratford de Redcliffe reported the Ottoman empire to have made extraordinary preparations for its defence when attacked by Russia.

That he was desired by Lord Clarendon to inform the Porte that it "was indispensable that it should suspend hostilities," when a Russian force was actually taking possession of Turkish territory.—(24th October, 1853.)

That after Sinope he was similarly directed to warn the sultan "that no aggression on the Russian territory by his forces could be permitted."—(30th January, 1854.)

Secondly, as to the unconsciousness :—

Although the British nation had, in utter ignorance of its own interests, accepted for a long term of years the maxim of "Peace with Russia, war with all the world," it believed that its ministers had discovered the iniquity of such a doctrine; and when the land and sea expeditions were embarked in 1854, it supposed that its own wishes would be carried into effect by its rulers; we have the following evidence that they were secretly thwarted.

With regard to the sea expedition against Russia :—

The Baltic ports were not blockaded until the trade through Prussia was actively established by means of the waiving of the right of search.

The White Sea blockade was deferred until all vessels had cleared out, the English squadron remaining meanwhile in sight.

The Russian ports in the Black Sea were not blockaded at all.—(Admiral Dundas's evidence.)

The British fleet in the Baltic did nothing.

The British squadron in the North Pacific, under Commodore Elliott, disgraced itself by retiring before an inferior force.

With regard to the land expedition :—

The British troops were encamped in the Valley of Death, against which the authorities had been warned.

The allied forces were withheld from attacking the Russian forces in the rear, as they retreated from the Danube, and when those forces had marched through Bessarabia, passed Odessa, over Perekop, and into the Crimea, then that peninsula was invaded—Odessa meanwhile having been spared—and all information as to the strength of the Crimea was withheld from the British commander.

During the siege of Sebastopol the trade of Russia with England, as well as diplomatic negotiations with her, went on as actively as ever.

Lord Aberdeen, having incurred the odium of the above transactions, was decorated with the Garter, and his colleague, Lord Palmerston, assumed the post of Prime Minister. The elevation of Lord Palmerston to the dictatorship was considered by many to be the commencement of a new and auspicious era. He was understood to be the only man capable of dealing with Russia, and the nation having refused inquiry into his past conduct, and therefore being as unconscious of his character as of the arrangements out of which came the above-mentioned events, were in ecstasies of expectation as to the glorious results to follow. It was anticipated of him—

That he would “carry on the war with vigour.”

That he would make an honourable and lasting peace.

That he would procure an indemnity for Turkey.

That he would put a stop to interference in the internal affairs of Turkey.

That he would re-establish the Polish constitution.

That he would put a stop to Russian intrigue in Central Asia.

That he would strengthen and cement our alliance with France and the United States.

That he would put an end to the practice of secrecy in our international relations.

That he would set aside Russia’s claims to the succession of the kingdom of Denmark.

He has been now nearly two years in office, and the results are as follows :—

No change in the operations of the war, neither naval, military, nor by blockading ports, or otherwise attacking the Russian trade.

The surrender of Kars and the treaty of Paris, which contains

nothing of indemnity to Turkey, and surrenders to Russia the maritime laws of Great Britain.

Interference with the suzerain rights of the Porte in the Principalities, but nothing done to liberate Turkish trade from the restrictions imposed in 1838.

The Poles abandoned to the tender mercies of Lord Clarendon's "just and benevolent emperor," whose amnesty has been a mockery and a pretence.

Persia attacked by England, and driven to seek support from Russia.

Our alliance with France and the United States rendered precarious.

The claims of Russia to the crown of Denmark retained and preserved.

The House of Commons informed that the minister should not for the future give them any information as to his intentions; and

The expeditions to Persia and Naples as a means for putting Europe and the East simultaneously in a blaze.

Thirdly, as to the suffering:—

Our last year's expenditure was 84,500,000*l.*—an excess of 21,000,000*l.* over our income; and there is every appearance that events are preparing which will increase rather than diminish it in future. This expenditure has to be raised by taxation principally from the less wealthy classes of the community; while the field of exportation is narrowing, the imports exceeding the exports, and the labour market falling off, and while the price of the necessaries of life is excessive, butter being now 1*s.* 6*d.* a pound, meat 8*d.*, cheese 10*d.*, and corn at 70*s.* a quarter—the latter owing principally to the monopoly of grain secured to Russia.

A statement from the Board of Trade returns of 1854, has shown the balance of trade to be against us in our dealings with Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Prussia, Holland, Belgium, France, Spain, and Austria; and to be slightly in our favour in Germany. So that the total amount with those countries stands thus:—

Total balance against Great Britain £28,456,657

Deduct in favour of Great Britain with

Germany..... 477,044

£27,979,613

We know that the tariff of Russia is prohibitive of all articles of importance in our manufactures, and that in 1853, in exchange for 10,000,000 qrs. of wheat and 1,000,000 qrs. of other grain, for 900,000 cwt. of tallow, for 700,000 qrs. of linseed, for 300,000 loads of wood, for 824,000 lasts of tar, and

for 9,000,000 lbs. of wool, for 2,500,000 lbs. of bristles, for 2,000,000 cwt. of flax and hemp, and for 70,000 lbs. of hides, she took nothing of importance in exchange, but of cotton yarn to the amount of 137,000*l.*, woollen yarn 130,000*l.* steam-engines for the approaching war to the amount of 190,000*l.*, and lead and shot for the Turkish and Sebastopol campaign to the amount of 60,000*l.*

So that our manufactures are virtually excluded from all countries on which Russia can impose her tariff, and our field of commerce is consequently narrowed by every successive declaration of the late premier, that "there is nothing in this or that treaty to prevent her extending herself according to her will."

The conduct of Mr. Fox and of Mr. Pitt with regard to Ocksakow; of Lord Castlereagh in the matter of the Russo-Dutch loan; of Mr. Canning in the protocol of 1826; of the Duke of Wellington in the circumstances leading to the treaty of Adrianople—all tell the same tale, the impossibility of an English minister acting for the interests of his country from the illegal conditions of his tenure of office, and the necessity of covering the identity of English and Russian methods by the Dejanira cloak of that assertion of an identity of interests which has been for a series of years consuming the very marrow of our state.

The advent of Lord Palmerston was a new epoch. From the time when the noble lord made his parliamentary *début* in 1808, by boldly defending the practice of secrecy, and by contending that England had done right in bombarding Copenhagen when at peace with Denmark, his whole career has been an exemplification of the success of a man who, not sharing the fallacies of his fellows, and not encumbered by any scruples, has mastered the age and country to which he belongs, by taking as his real principle of action the formula which his antecessors merely accepted as a disguise.

The points which it is now most necessary for England to understand are:—

First, that English and Russian interests are diametrically opposed.

Secondly, that English and Russian methods of government are precisely similar.

Thirdly, that unless the English method be changed, England must be ruined and Russia must succeed.

Various men and bodies have perceived the decadence and danger of our state, and have come forward with palliatives and remedies.

The Chartists have proposed an extension of the influence and power of the Parliament. This would not touch the evil, and would only place the power of the state more entirely in the hands of the minister.

Financial and administrative reformers have also proposed to deal with the constitution of the Parliament, and with certain economies in public expenditure, leaving the action of the minister as unfettered as before.

Various well-meaning men have brought out their little quota of projects in the shape of sanitary reform and educational extension, all with a view only to the enactments of the Parliament, and consequently to the aggrandizement of the minister.

Many have proposed a more earnest protest against the errors of the Church of Rome, which, however needful, will not dispense with the necessity of protest against unjust wars and national crime into which the minister has led us.

Now and then one or other of our public men has been awakened to a vague half sense of this miserable condition, but the very knowledge has proved itself more disgraceful and injurious than the former ignorance.

For when the discovery has been made, it has been thought quite sufficient to talk against Russia; so that of all the cynical amusements that a Russian diplomatist can have, probably the greatest has been when a grave Englishman proves to demonstration that the course Russia is following is decidedly unjust.

The fact is, that to arrive at a knowledge of the designs of Russia and of her agents in the British cabinet, is to make every man an accomplice who does not devote his energies to counteract them, and herein is the secret of Lord Palmerston's success.

Every man who got an inkling of the case had either to dismiss it from his mind, or to examine further. In the first instance he abnegated, then and there, his duties and rights of citizenship, and became nothing more than one of the live stock, to be dealt with by the minister, much as a negro on a South Carolina estate.

In the event of examination he found that, as Lord Palmerston was not an incapable man, as he had had the foreign relations of England absolutely at his disposal for a long term of years, as everything he had done had turned to the profit of Russia, either directly or indirectly, and as his conduct was explicable on no hypothesis save that he was a Russian agent, and was thoroughly explicable on that; therefore, on pursuing his investigation, he could come to no conclusion but that this country was betrayed in the dark.

He had then but one of two courses open—either to be silent, and so to become guilty himself of misprision of treason; or to become a public accuser, in which case he had to attack the whole illegality of the present governing process, and so to bring upon himself ridicule, opprobrium, slander, and—worse than all—exclusion from society.

There are, however, indications that some knowledge has been attained by those classes of whom fashionable society rarely hears; and it will be singular if England is rescued from her present position of a Muscovite province, by the necessity the Russian agents in England have been under of recruiting their ranks from amongst the higher orders, and of therefore overlooking the fact that, in the masses, uncorrupted by political gossip, there was not alone a feeling of self-interest, but talent not inferior to their own, and a sense of patriotism and duty which was never dreamt of as an element in their calculations.

A struggle has commenced in England in which the right is on one side, and the might, *for the present*, on the other. The one wishes for the continuance of government by conspiracy, the other is bent on the restoration of government by law.

Government by law is—that the Crown should assemble the Privy Council for deliberation, and, on their advice, initiate measures—the name of each adviser, and the advice given, being duly recorded.

That the Sovereign should appoint, of her own choice, her executive ministers, such ministers being directed by the instructions they receive from the Sovereign in council, not deviating from or altering them in any way, and therefore responsible, not for the origination of measures, which appertains to the office of the councillor, but for the mode in which they are carried into execution.

Government by law is—that the Commons' House of Parliament should assemble for the redress of grievances, presented to them by their constituents, whether electors or non-electors, whose complaints they have undertaken to represent. In fulfilling this duty, the Commons' House has to take cognizance of accusations made against the executive ministers; if necessary, to require the name of the privy councillor who advised any measure complained of; and if such advice have been contrary to the honour and interest of the sovereign of the realm—the House of Commons to prepare articles of impeachment, and send the accused before the House of Lords for trial.

Further; Parliament has to declare the law, by a declaratory

statute, should any uncertainty have arisen respecting it; but nothing done in Parliament, no "*Actum Parliamenti*," is to bind any subject in the realm, should a case arise where such an Act of Parliament is contrary to the common law of the land.

The law respecting supply of money is, that the revenues derived from the crown lands are to be sufficient for the ordinary purposes of state. But on any extraordinary emergency arising, such as in case of war being levied against the crown of England by foreign powers or rebellious subjects, or wrongs and aggressions being perpetrated, and reparation refused; then, according to the constitutional practice of England, extraordinary supplies may be required, and the queen's writ sent down to the different towns, boroughs, and other communities for the levying the same, the necessity and the cause of doing so being duly set forth, so that each man is to know and to assent to the use to be made of the money he subscribes, and thus, by means of the courts leet and shire courts, every subject in the realm has a direct knowledge of, and action on, every matter affecting his own well-being.

Government by conspiracy is the reverse of all this. It is that by the triumph of a faction in the Parliament, a minister shall supersede in his own person the functions of the Crown, the Council, and the Parliament; that no one, not even the sovereign, shall have prior knowledge of his designs; and that Parliament shall not even censure, far less impeach him. Government by conspiracy further provides that no man in the state shall have any means of redress of any grievance at the hands of Parliament, shall have any voice or power of objecting to the amount of indirect taxation to be levied from him, or any knowledge of the use made or to be made of it, even though it be applied absolutely to purposes of piracy and murder, as in the case of the Affghan and the China wars, or the present expeditions against Persia and Naples.

Government by law expressly provides against the danger of the envoy of any foreign state gaining an ascendancy in the realm of England; for it allows no executive minister to hold private communications with such envoy.

Government by conspiracy necessitates such ascendancy; for by allowing secret dealings between English ministers and foreign envoys residing in England, and by depriving the privy councillors of all prior knowledge, it makes it possible that a foreigner should be one of the conspiring parties, and then, where the envoy is a man of extraordinary subtlety, makes it certain that he is one.

Therefore, under the present method, it cannot be otherwise

than that England is governed by and from Russia, and that as the interests of those two countries are diametrically opposite—as the one depends on her manufactures, and the other on extending herself, and prohibiting from each new acquisition the introduction of those manufactures—as the one avowedly intends to gain possession of the Indian territories of the other, the only lease England has of a *quasi* independent existence is for the time that Russia can make a tool and a cat's-paw of her against other countries.

On the side of government by conspiracy are ranged the great body of those who are usually termed "respectable men"—that is to say, the greater number of the financiers, large state creditors, great manufacturers, &c., who are, or have been, under obligations to various of the conspiring ministers for bank acts, currency laws, poor laws, and the like.

On the same side are ranged the various professional respectabilities, such as lawyers and clergymen expecting promotion, and all the vast and most respectable family of place-holders and place-hunters, from under-secretaries and vice-presidents down to tidewaiters and inspectors of police existent and expectant.

The great mass of careless, indifferent, and stupid people are not to be considered as neuter, but are rather to be ranged on the side of government by conspiracy, that side being in their opinion the more respectable.

On the other side are arrayed the few who having investigated the laws of England, have discovered that the illegality of the present method makes treason a necessity—those who having traced to their source the historical events of the last twenty-five years—have found that the laws of England have been broken, not to the profit of England, but for that of a foreign power—and, lastly, those who, startled and perplexed by surrounding events, have been led to examine the two before-mentioned sources of information, and have therein found a key to the actual state of the world.

At first sight, the contest between the many and the few, so arrayed against each other, appears wholly disproportionate and hopeless; but a nearer view shows therein the certainty of ultimate success on the side of law. For against mercenary legions are opposed high motive and consciousness of right—against the majority of numbers is brought to bear superior intellectual discipline; and while every disastrous event brought about by conspiracy will produce desertion from the conspirators' ranks—from the side of the supporters of law no desertion can take place, except it be of so Judas-like a character that the very purchase-money is a damning evidence against buyer

and seller, as were the thirty pieces of silver against the arch-traitor and the Pharisees ;

“ Besides the Queen’s name is a tower of strength,
Which they upon the adverse faction want.”

When an awakened people call upon their sovereign to govern them according to law, then even respectability will be found ranging itself on the side of law, and the world may have peace ; for the hand in Downing Street will no longer be directed by the brain of the Russian chancery.

These propositions are then established :—That the geographical position of Russia makes it a necessity for her rulers that to be despots at home they must be conquerors abroad, and, from the same cause, conquerors not by force of arms, and therefore it must be by force of wit ; *the enemies she has to fear being those who compete with her produce, not those who invade her soil* ; and she is engaged in a direct struggle with England, as she knows, but as England does not.

But as it is a necessity for her to enslave the body by first enslaving the mind, so it is in a peculiar manner the English people that have fallen a prey to her arts, and thus become to her a source of riches and power, as well as a means to be used against other nations. This has certainly not arisen from there being more purchasable knaves in England than elsewhere ; for perhaps there is no European cabinet in which she has so few retained agents. The cause must be sought for deeper, and can only be found in retracing the field of English history, observing the gradual departures from the constitution, and observing the intellectual, moral, political, and social changes and corruptions—all and each following by logical necessity and regular sequence from the first, till they have reached the present climax.

What has been the position of even an honest English minister as opposed to Russia ? Neither backed when right, nor censured when wrong ; sharing all the intellectual fallacies of his fellows, and therefore intellectually powerless to compete with her. Hence, from the treaty of Nystadt in 1721 to the treaty of Adrianople in 1729, it is always by using the power of England, through the delusions of an English minister, that Russia has saved herself from the most critical dangers, and converted each threatened catastrophe into a triumph.

Her acquisition of Lord Palmerston was an equal necessity. In his case it was not necessary to seek for ordinary or vulgar motives. He is a man who has never shared in the intellectual degradation of his age. Power was to him an object : but power can only be held by a cabinet minister at the present day under

illegal conditions; therefore when he sought a ministerial position his integrity was already gone. He could not be Russia's dupe, he must therefore be her enemy or her accomplice.

Let the late Mr. Porter's suspicions be true or false, this much is certain; at the opening of Lord Palmerston's political life, he had but one of two courses to adopt, either to act the part of another Demosthenes, or to share in the secret councils and earn the rewards of the modern Philip. He had to denounce his age or to use it, to become the hated censor of his fellows, or at once to be their idol and to make them his slaves. Need we be surprised which part he chose?

In his case there was no resistance to be overcome, and, therefore, with him the process was, not to subdue, but to support. In the words of the despatch of Count Nesselrode, quoted by us on Friday, "It was essential to furnish him with arms to combat the opposition of his colleagues."

With us all has been vague, indefinite, trusting to the chapter of accidents, and living from hand to mouth. With Russia a scheme has been laid down, having a precise end, not to be departed from, but capable of being arrived at all the sooner from the increased development of the process of action by successive contributions of intelligence from each of her neophytes. The system of Russia is, deeds; that of England, words. Once Russia gets a thought, it is converted into a foundation-stone, and concealed under the building it supports; it is acted on without hesitation, contradiction, or intermission, in all places and all times, known to each of her agents, and never uttered to any but them.

If we, by a chance or miracle, get a glimpse into what she has been about, the thought is not seized by any organized being or state, as a conclusion to be worked against her; it pops into type in a work or newspaper, is scattered to the winds of heaven; and by the fact of being published to-day must impose the necessity of its being replaced to-morrow by something new—therefore something different—therefore something false.

When words take the place of action, by being substituted for conduct, the necessity of changes must come next, and then the impossibility of the change being made fixed or permanent; it cannot, therefore, come into action. The discovery of the truth thus becomes as useless as it is difficult, and its promulgation nearly as noxious as it is distasteful. For the self-love of the nation identifies itself with its errors, and to be unable to deny that which is matter of reproach, is only to admit its own degradation.

We have said that we must in pity to ourselves either become

a province of Russia, or cease from meddling in the affairs of the world, which in the hands of unfaithful men, or *men not equal* to Russia, is equivalent to gaining power for the convulsion of the world. But to be able to adopt either alternative there is required the collection of a body of rational men, and the admission of these men, not yet created, into the councils of the state.

THE END.

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